88. CRITIAS

translated by DONALD NORMAN LEVIN

Critias of Athens was descended from Dropides, a kinsman of Solon, and was related also to Plato via the latter's mother, Perictione. Both he and Alcibiades, similarly brilliant and unscrupulous, spent much time in Socrates' company. Probably the reckless behavior of both had not a little to do with the later charge that Socrates was guilty of corrupting the young men of Athens—this despite the fact that the sage himself had refused to countenance either Alcibiades' treachery or Critias' outrageous behavior as a member of the oligarchical Thirty.

Even before the overthrow of the democracy, Critias, like Alcibiades, had been implicated rightly or wrongly in the affair of the defacement of the Hermae. Later he became active in the pro-Spartan faction at Athens. How many times he was forced into exile is uncertain. But on one such occasion he took refuge in Thessaly, where he seems to have fallen into disreputable company and to have engaged in additional intrigues.

The thesis that power corrupts seems only too well demonstrated in the case of Critias. When the Thirty seized control at Athens, Critias himself was in the forefront of what amounted to a reign of terror. Perhaps there is a certain poetic justice in his demise in the aftermath of Thrasybulus' coup. At any rate, Critias' fame went into a lengthy eclipse, from which it might never have emerged, were it not for the merit of his writings.

Critias produced both prose and verse. Into the former category fall several *Commonwealths* (or *Constitutions*), also *Aphorisms*, *Lectures* (or *Conversations*), *On the Nature of Desires or of Virtues*, and *Proems for Public Speaking*. His poetic production includes hexameters and elegiacs (among the latter a work addressed to Alcibiades) and the *Well-Balanced Commonwealths*. He may have written dramas also, but the

authorship of the *Tennes*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Pirithus*, and even of the *Sisyphus* remains controversial: all four plays have been ascribed both to Critias and to Euripides.

Only if the *Sisyphus* is really his, do Critias' published thoughts depart from the conventional. Elsewhere he does not question the reality of the divine, but recommends moderation—a policy which he would have done well to follow in his own life.

A. LIFE AND WRITINGS

1. Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* I 16 Even if Critias the sophist brought down the democracy of the Athenians, still he had not yet turned evil. For the democracy would have collapsed on its own; it had become so overconfident that it failed to heed even those who held office in accordance with the laws. Yet Critias obviously sided with the Spartans, betrayed what was sacred, leveled the fortifications through the agency of Lysander. By declaring Sparta at war against all, [and in effect forbidding] anyone to take in the Athenian in exile, he deprived those of the Athenians whom he had banished even of a stopping place anywhere in Greece. In cruelty and in bloodthirstiness he outdid the Thirty. He also collaborated with the Spartans in absurd resolution in order that Attica, emptied of its flock of men, might become a grazing-ground for sheep. Hence it seems to me that he is the worst of all the men who have gained a reputation for wickedness. Had Critias been misled through lack of education, there would be corroborated the claim of those who allege that he became corrupted by Thessaly and by association with it. Uninstructed natures are quite easily led astray in the matter of a choice of life. But since [Critias] had been extremely well educated, expounding many judgments and referring them to Dropides, who, after Solon, governed the Athenians [593–592 B.C.], he could not escape responsibility in the eyes of many for having committed these mistakes through the wickedness of his nature. In fact, it is absurd that

he not be compared with Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, whom he joined especially in the pursuit of wisdom, Socrates seeming the wisest and most honorable of his contemporaries. And it is absurd that he be compared with the Thessalians, among whom unadulterated arrogance exists and tyrannical pursuits are carried on under the influence of wine. Still, not even the Thessalians were uninterested in wisdom. Rather, small and larger cities in Thessaly professed Gorgian doctrines, looking toward Gorgias the Leontinian, and would have shifted to professing Critian doctrines, had Critias undertaken among them some exposition of his own wisdom. Instead, he rendered their oligarchies the more grievous by conversing with those in power there and by attacking all democracy. He slandered the Athenians, claiming that they, of all mankind, erred the most. Consequently, upon reflection, Critias would have corrupted the Thessalians rather than the converse. He perished at the hands of Thrasybulus' associates, who were bringing back the democratic faction from Phyle. It appears to some that he became a good man toward the end of his life, inasmuch as he employed tyranny as his winding-sheet. But let it be declared on my part that none among men died well in behalf of a poor choice. And it seems to me that for this reason the man's wisdom and his thoughts were taken less seriously by the Greeks. Unless speech corresponds to character, we shall appear to be discoursing in an alien language, as though we were playing flutes.

Being a sententious person and very sagacious, Critias is highly competent to render solemn the shape of his discourse. His solemnity is not dithyrambic, nor one which takes refuge in terms derived from poetic speech. Rather, it is put together from ordinary words and holds to the natural. I envision the man both expressing himself with sufficient brevity and attacking wondrously in the guise of defense, speaking Attic not purely, yet not unidiomatically (for want of taste in speaking Attic is barbarous): Attic terms shine, rather, through his utterance like sunbeams. To join ⟨passage⟩ to passage without connectives is elegance of style for Critias; to reason via paradoxes, and via paradoxes to declaim, is Critias' battle plan. The spirit of his utterance is rather elliptical, yet pleasant and smooth, like the breeze of the west wind.

2. Diogenes Laertius iii 1 Plato, the Athenian, son of Ariston and of Perictione (or Potone), who traced her lineage back to Solon. Solon had a brother Dropides, whose son was Critias, father of Callaeschrus. The sons of Callaeschrus were Critias, the member of the Thirty, and Glaucon, father of Charmides and of Perictione. Plato was her son and Ariston's in the sixth generation after Solon. Plato *Charmides* 154B [Critias is the speaker] Charmides, son of our paternal uncle Glaucon, and my cousin. 157E [Socrates addresses Charmides] Your paternal house, that which has been celebrated by both Anacreon and Solon and by many other poets, has been handed over to us. Scholium on Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 130 [Anacreon] took up residence in Attica out of fondness for Critias.

3. Plato *Timaeus* 20A All of us here perhaps know that Critias is not unversed in any of the matters which we are discussing. 20D [Critias is the speaker] Listen, Socrates, to a statement which is quite outlandish, yet altogether true, as Solon, wisest of the Seven Sages, once said. E He was a kinsman and extremely dear to our great-grandfather Dropides, as even he himself says in many places in his poetry. To Critias, our grandfather, he said, as the old man kept calling to our attention, that the great and wondrous old deeds of this city had become obscured through time and men's destruction. . . . 21A I shall tell you, having heard an ancient statement of a not-so-young man. Critias [the tyrant's grandfather] was close to ninety years old at the time, while I was about ten. Scholium ad loc. Critias had a noble and sturdy nature. He joined philosophical fellowships and was termed a layman among philosophers, a philosopher among laymen. Even he himself exercised tyrannical power, since he was one of the Thirty.

4. Xenophon *Memorabilia* i 2, 12 But, stated the accuser, Critias and Alcibiades became disciples of Socrates and did the city much harm. For, in the oligarchy, Critias turned into the most thievish and violent and murderous of all, while Alcibiades, in the democracy, was of all men the most uncontrolled and wanton and violent. (13) If the

two of them did the city harm, I shall not offer a defense. But I shall explain how their association with Socrates came about. (14) These two men were born to be the most eager for honors of all the Athenians: they wanted to do everything on their own and to become most renowned of all. . . . (16) And they became illustrious as a result of what they did. They thought it desirable to become more powerful than their associates as quickly as possible. Turning away from Socrates forthwith, they engaged in politics, the very reason for their having reached out to Socrates. . . . (24) As long as both Critias and Alcibiades remained in Socrates' company, they were able, by employing him as an ally, to control their ignoble inclinations. But once they got free of him, Critias fled to Thessaly and there consorted with men subject to lawlessness rather than to a sense of justice. . . . (29) But even if, without doing anything base himself, he praised them, though he saw that they were carrying on worthless activities, he would rightly be blamed. Aware that Critias was in love with Euthydemus and was attempting exploitation, just as those do whose enjoyment consists in sexual pleasures of the body, [Socrates] tried to deter him by declaring that it was unworthy of a free man and ungentlemanly to make demands of a beloved, to whom one wishes to appear very worthy, by supplicating as beggars would and by pleading for concessions. These are the actions of one who is worthless. (30) But since Critias paid no heed to such statements and was undeterred, it is said that Socrates in the presence of many others, Euthydemus included, remarked that Critias seemed to him to be suffering from a swinelike malady and that in his desire he was rubbing himself against Euthydemus just as piglets rub against stones. (31) As a consequence Critias came also to hate Socrates, so that when, as a member of the Thirty, along with Charicles, he became lawgiver, he felt a grudge against him and included in the laws a provision against teaching the art of speech.

5. ANDOCIDES *On the Mysteries* 1 47 Come now, I shall read to you the names of the men whom he entered into the register. . . . Critias: he too is a cousin of my father [Leogoras]. Our mothers are sisters. (68) My father was saved, as were my father-in-law, three cousins, and

seven other kinsmen on the verge of dying unjustly. They now see the light of the sun through my efforts.

6. [DEMOSTHENES] *Against Theocrines* 6 Aristocrates, son of Scelius, . . . performed many fine deeds when his city was at war with the Spartans and destroyed utterly Eetionia, the place where the entourage of Critias expected to welcome the Spartans [411 B.C.]. He pulled down the fortress and restored the democracy. Cf. THUCYDIDES VIII 92.

7. LYCURGUS *Against Leocrates* 113 The public voted, at Critias' suggestion, to bring the corpse [of Phrynichus, assassinated in 411] to trial for treason. If it were acknowledged that, though a traitor, he had been buried in the region, they would exhume his bones and banish them beyond the frontiers of Attica.

8. ARISTOTLE *Rhetoric* I 15, 1375b32 Even Cleophon employed Solon's elegies against Critias, stating that the household was licentious long since. Never would Solon have composed, "Tell red-haired Critias for me to listen to his father" [fr. 18 Diehl].

9. XENOPHON *Hellenica* II 3, 1–2 The following year [404–403] . . . it seemed advisable to the public to choose thirty men to codify the inherited laws in accordance with which they would administer the state.

10. ——— ——— II 3, 15 The first time, Critias shared Theramenes' opinions and was friendly to him. But when he himself became prone to put multitudes to death, inasmuch as he had been forced into exile by the democratic faction [407 B.C.], Theramenes resisted, saying. . . . (18) After this, however, Critias and the rest of the Thirty, already afraid of Theramenes and not a little apprehensive lest the citizenry coalesce around him, reckon[ed] the prospective participants in public affairs at three thousand. (36) [Speech of Theramenes] Still, I am not surprised at Critias' having transgressed the law. When this was underway [the trial after the battle of Arginusae], he happened not to be present. Rather, along with Prometheus, he was setting up a democracy in Thessaly and was arming the serfs against their overlords.

11. LYSIAS 12, 43 When the sea battle [at Aegospotami] and the disaster to the city had taken place, since a democratic regime was still in power, whence they inaugurated civil strife, five men were appointed ephors by their so-called comrades. They were to be conveners of the citizenry, leaders of the conspirators working against your multitude. Members included Eratosthenes and Critias. They appointed tribal leaders for the tribes and announced that it was necessary to hold an election and that whoever must, should lead and that if they wished to do anything else, they had authority.

12. XENOPHON *Hellenica* II 4, 8 After this [Thrasybulus' attack from Phyle] the Thirty, adjudging matters no longer safe for themselves, wished to win over Eleusis, so that they would have a refuge there, should it prove necessary. Issuing orders to the cavalry, Critias and the rest of the Thirty arrived at Eleusis [arrest of the Eleusinians follows]. (10) After this Thrasybulus took along the thousand or so men who had been assembled from Phyle and arrived during the night at the Piraeus. . . . (11) The men from Phyle . . . marched in close order to Munichia. . . . (19) Of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus were slain there [May 403].

13. SCHOLIUM on AESCHINES I 39 p. 261 Schultz Here is an example of the government of the Thirty. When Critias, one of the Thirty, had been slain, they erected by way of memorial Oligarchy wielding a firebrand and igniting Democracy; and they inscribed the following:

This is a memorial to good men who restrained the accursed populace of the Athenians from arrogance for a brief period.

14. ARISTOTLE *Rhetoric* III 16, 1416b26 The many do not demand a statement of the case if you wish to extol Achilles (for all know his deeds); yet it is necessary to make use of them. Also, if you wish to extol Critias, it is necessary. For not many know *his* deeds.

15. ATHENAEUS IV 184D At least Chamaeleon of Heraclea states in his treatise entitled *Protrepticus* that all Spartans and Thebans learn to

play the flute and that the inhabitants of Heraclea Pontica still do so in his own day, while among the Athenians the most conspicuous are Callias, son of Hipponicus, and Critias, son of Callaeschrus.

16. [Plutarch] *Lives of the Ten Orators* p. 832 de However, one would find that all (if we trace back to the earliest) who tried their hand at recording this type of speech have attacked Antiphon [the Rhamnusian], although he was already an old man. Thus did Alcibiades, Critias, Lysias, and Archinus, for example.

17. Cicero *On the orator* II 23, 93 Hard upon them [the orators Pericles, Alcibiades, and Thucydides] came Critias, Theramenes, and Lysias. Much was written down by Lysias, some things by Critias; we hear of Theramenes. All even then retained that Periclean flavor, though with a somewhat richer quality. Philostratus *Epistles* 73 Critias and Thucydides are not unknown; they have taken over from him [Gorgias] loftiness of sentiment, also pride, and they refashion them into their own, the one via fluency of speech, the other via vigor.

18. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Lysias* 2 He [Lysias] is clear in expression altogether and the best model of the Attic dialect, not of the old type which Plato and Thucydides employ, but of that fashionable at the time, as one can attest from the speeches of Andocides and from those of Critias and from numerous others. Cf. *Isaeus* 20. [See *DK* 85 A 13.]

19. Hermogenes *On Kinds* [*of Literary Composition*] B 401, 25 Rabe On Critias: For he too is stately, much like Antiphon, and sublime, verging on majesty, and says much in the negative, yet is rather pure in style and, when he resorts to circumlocution, careful in arrangement, with the result that he is clear and distinct in conjunction with his loftiness. In many places he manifests both truthfulness and persuasiveness, particularly in his *Proems for Public Speaking*. Though careful, still he employs this sort of ornament not moderately, nor simply, nor, after the fashion of Antiphon, tediously and with obvious refinements, but in such a way that he partakes even thus of the truth. He does not go

to extremes in utilizing types of character such as reasonableness or simplicity or the like.

20. PHRYNICHUS *Praeparatio sophistica* [PHOTIUS *Bibliotheca* cod. 158 p. 101b4] He says that the standards and yardsticks and best model of unalloyed and pure Attic speech are . . . [Plato, the Ten Orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aeschines the Socratic, Critias, son of Callaeschrus, and Antisthenes.]

21. PHILOSTRATUS *Lives of the Sophists* II 1, 14 [Herodes] was devoted to all the ancients, and was taken up with Critias and introduced him, hitherto neglected and disregarded, into the usage of the Greeks.

22. PHILOPONUS on ARISTOTLE *de Anima* 89, 8 [on A 23] It makes no difference to us whether he means Critias, one of the Thirty, who heard Socrates also, or someone else. They say that there was also another Critias, a sophist, author of the writings in question, as Alexander states: the member of the Thirty has not written anything other than *A Well-Balanced Commonwealth.*

23. ARISTOTLE *de Anima* I 2, 405b5 Others, like Critias, claim that [the soul is] blood, since they assume that sensation is most closely related to soul and that this is the case due to the nature of blood. PHILOPONUS on ARISTOTLE *de Anima*, Introduction 9, 19 Cf. 89, 12. Critias, one of the Thirty. For he stated that the soul was blood. "For blood flowing around the heart," he says, "is what perception is for men" [=Critias fr. 8 Bach].

B. POETIC FRAGMENTS

HEXAMETERS

1. [7 Bach (1827), 8 Diehl] ATHENAEUS XIII p. 600D [Eros], celebrating whom in song, wise Anacreon is in everyone's mouth. Thus even mighty Critias says the following about him:

Teos brought to Greece sweet Anacreon, who once wove songs of womanly melody, a source of stimulation at drinking fests, a cajolement for women, opposed to flutes, fond of the lyre, sweet, painless. Affection for you will not grow old nor will it perish, so long as a servingboy carries around water mixed with wine in goblets, handing out toasts as he moves toward the right, and as long as feminine dancing-troupes conduct sacred all-night festivities, and as long as the disc, daughter of bronze, sits atop the cottabus, ⟨struck⟩ by lofty drizzles of wine. . . .

CRITIAS' *ELEGIES*

2. Athenaeus (*Epitome*) I 28B Critias thus [i.e., lists peculiarities from each city]: "the cottabus . . . of the furnace." Attic pottery is really praised also. XV 666B First of all, the game of cottabus is a Sicilian invention, since the Sicilians were first to contrive it, as Critias, son of Callaeschrus, states in his *Elegies* thus: "the cottabus . . . wine-drop missiles." *BA* I p. 382, 19 [Photius A 73, 3 Reitzenstein] aid to discourse: so Critias the tyrant referred to letters [line 10]:

The cottabus, a distinguished achievement, comes from Sicily. We set it up as target for wine-drop missiles. Next there is a Sicilian wagon, outstanding in beauty and expense. * * * The throne is Thessalian, a most luxurious resting-place for the limbs. Miletus and Chios, the sea-girt city of Oenopion, possess ⟨especially⟩ the beauty of a conjugal couch. And the gold-wrought Etruscan bowl prevails and all bronze that decorates a home, whatever its use. The Phoenicians invented letters as an aid to discourse. Thebe[s] was first to construct a chariot, while the Carians, stewards of the sea, created cargo ships. But she who set up the fine victory emblem at Marathon devised the potter's wheel and highly celebrated pottery useful for household management, a product both of the earth and of the furnace.

3. Mallius Theodorus *On Meters* VI 589, 220 Keil Critias avers that the dactylic hexameter was invented originally by Orpheus. Cf. *DK* 68 B 16.

TO ALCIBIADES

4. Hephaestion 2, 3 (on vowel mixture) or two shorts into one short, as is found in other meters . . . but rarely in epic. Similarly, Critias in his elegy addressed to Alcibiades did not think that Alcibiades' name could fit:

Even now I shall garland Cleinias' son, Athenian Alcibiades, hymning him in a new fashion. For it was impossible to fit his name into an elegiac verse. But now it will be placed, not unmetrically, in an iamb.

5. Plutarch *Alcibiades* 33 The vote for recall, which Critias, son of Callaeschrus, had proposed, had already taken place. He himself has written thus in his *Elegies*, reminding Alcibiades of the favor as follows:

The opinion which brought you back—I expressed it amid all the people and, having set forth a proposal, did this deed. The seal made by my tongue lies upon it. Cf. B 75.

WELL-BALANCED COMMONWEALTHS

COMMONWEALTH OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS

6. Athenaeus x 432D It was not customary at Lacedaemonian drinking parties to make toasts or to pass lovingcups around. Critias makes this clear in his *Elegies:*

And it is a habit and established practice at Sparta to drink from the same winecup and not to give toasts mentioning someone by name and not to pass it around, as is customary at Athens, moving to the right in a circle around the company. * * * An Asiatic-born Lydian hand invented pitchers as well as the practice of extending toasts to the right and of challenging by name whomever one wishes to toast. Then, as a result of such drinking, they loosen their tongues for shameful tales and render the body weaker. And a sight-blunting fog sits before one's eye and forgetfulness wastes recollection away from one's heart and reason is tripped up. But servants have an undisciplined character. Extravagance ruinous to the home bursts in.

Lacedaemonian youths, however, drink only enough to direct the thinking of all toward cheery hopefulness and the tongue toward friendliness and temperate laughter. This sort of drinking is beneficial to body and thought and property. And it is well suited to the works of Aphrodite and to sleep, haven from toils, and to Health, most delightful of the gods for mortals, and to Piety's neighbor, Moderation.

And next he says:

For toasting from cups beyond due measure, though momentarily pleasurable, confers permanent harm. The way of life of the Lacedaemonians is evenly ordered: to eat and drink the appropriate amount to render them capable of thought and labor. No day is set apart for soaking the body with wine through immoderate draughts.

7. SCHOLIUM on EURIPIDES *Hippolytus* 264 A saying of one of the Seven Sages is "Nothing in excess," which, according to Critias, they attribute to Chilon. DIOGENES LAERTIUS I 41 [without the author's name]:

It was a Lacedaemonian, Chilon the Sage, who said this: "Nothing in excess." All that is beautiful proves appropriate [only] at the right time.

8. PLUTARCH *Cimon* 10 [after *DK* 82 B 20] Critias, one of the Thirty, prays in his *Elegies* [as follows]:

[I should wish upon myself] the wealth of the Scopadae, the high-mindedness of Cimon, the success of Arcesilas, the Lacedaemonian.

9. STOBAEUS III 29, 11 Of Critias:

More persons are good as a result of practice than from nature.

DRAMAS

10. Anonymous *Life of Euripides* p. 135, 33 Of these [dramas of Euripides], three are considered spurious: *Tennes*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Pirithus*.[1]

TENNES

11. On Tennes as eponym of Tenedos, cf. Conon 28 [Photius *Bibliotheca* cod. 126 p. 135b19].

12. [Euripides fr. 695, *TGF* p. 578 (2d ed.)] Stobaeus III 2, 15 Euripides in his *Tennes:*

Alas! there is no justice in the present generation.

RHADAMANTHYS

12a. Conclusion of a hypothesis preserved on papyrus and published by Carlo Gallavotti, *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica,* n.s. XI (1933), p. 179; cf. A. Körte, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* XI (1935), p. 258. Fighting alone, he was slain ⟨by Po⟩lydeuces. While ⟨Rh⟩adamanthys rejoiced at the victory, yet grieved over the daughters, Artemis, making an appearance, commanded Helen to establish honors for ⟨both⟩ deceased brothers and affirmed that his daughters would become goddesses.

13. [Euripides fr. 660 Nauck] *BA* I p. 94, 1 "Remove (*exairein*)" in place of "take away (*aphairein*)." Euripides in the *Rhadamanthys:*

For there is no one ⟨who⟩ will remove us.

[1] See Athenaeus XI 496A, cited below, B 17 ad init. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin, 1875), p. 166, adds *Sisyphus*, a satyr-play. The rationale for attributing these works rather to Critias is briefly discussed by K. Freeman, *Companion to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Oxford, 1946), p. 411.

14. [Euripides fr. 658 Nauck] Strabo viii p. 356 Euripides . . . in the *Rhadamanthys:*

Who hold the land of Euboea, the neighboring state. . . .

15. [Euripides fr. 659 Nauck] Stobaeus ii 8, 12; iv 20, 61 Euripides' *Rhadamanthys:*

In life we have all sorts of desires. This one yearns to gain nobility; that one has no concern for such, but wishes to be called lord over many possessions at home. It gratifies yet another to persuade those near him through evil daring, even if from his thoughts he conveys nothing healthy. Still others among mortals seek out shameful gains in preference to the beautiful. To such an extent does the life of men consist in wandering astray. ⟨But⟩ I desire to attain none of these things: I should like to have a reputation for the right kind of glory.

PIRITHUS

15a. *POxy* XVII 36ff., consisting here of five fragments from *POxy* no. 2078 with remains of 85 verses, published by A. S. Hunt. Cf. A. Körte, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* X (1932), p. 50ff.; W. Morel, *Bursians Jahresber,* LIX (1933), p. 159ff. Fr. 1 probably comes from the Prologue, with Pirithus himself as the speaker (Körte). The first five verses preserve beginnings only: "I tripped up" (1), "under" (or "by") (2), "(?) down" (3), "gone" (4), "Greek" (5). Add "altar" (6). Lines 7–20 follow:

A divine madness . . . sent disaster. ⟨Indeed, having possessed once the woman Nephele,[2] he disseminated to the The⟨ssalians⟩ a rumor full of wantonness. ⟨He said⟩ that [?] had copulated with ⟨Cronos'⟩ daughter, . . . for such boasts he paid penalties to the gods. . . . Around the cycle of madness . . . he proceeded unheard by men whom a gadfly tortured.[3] Not even

[2] Possibly Kathleen Freeman is right in understanding the context rather as, "He had a cloud for wife." On the other hand, she has personified ἄτη and ὕβρις whereas I have been content to translate the one as "disaster," the other as "wantonness." *Ancilla* (Oxford, 1946), p. 156.

[3] Miss Freeman's "driven by a gadfly" refers to Ixion himself. Yet the somewhat restored original shows οἰστρη<λ>άτοισιν apparently in agreement with ἀνθρώποι<σιν. Ibid.

a grave hid him, but . . . the father, erring against the gods, was torn to pieces ⟨by the⟩ sons of the North Wind. But I . . . his woes.[4]

2) and 3) = dialogue of Heracles and Theseus. Only the ends of lines 22–23 are preserved: in line 23 "[?] of labor." Lines 24–39 follow:

HERACLES: . . . would . . . now seems pleasant.

THESEUS: I shall ⟨not⟩ blame ⟨you⟩, Heracles. ⟨Yet one must stay⟩; for it is ⟨disgraceful⟩ to betray a trustworthy man and friend who has been hostilely received.

HERACLES: Theseus, you said what was appropriate ⟨for you⟩ and for the city of the Athenians. For you are always at some point an ally to the unfortunate. It is unseemly ⟨for me⟩ to go to my homeland on a pretext. Do you think that Eurystheus, were he to find out that I had collaborated with you, would gladly note that the task undertaken remains unfinished?

THESEUS: Still, for what you desire you have my good will entirely, not capricious, ⟨but⟩, as befits a free man, inimical to foes and well disposed ⟨toward friends⟩.[5] Before to me . . . discourse. You would make . . . [?] statements.[6]

In the remaining verses no connection is recognizable. Line 47, however, supplies the clausula, "Each die is cast," comparable to Aristophanes [fr. 673 Kock], and Menander [fr. 65, 4 Kock]. Thus Caesar's remark upon crossing the Rubicon was not a quote from Menander, but a proverbial phrase.[7] Cf. the *Nachtrag* to *DK* II 165, 7.

16. IOANNES DIACONUS on HERMOGENES ed. Rabe [from Codex Vaticanus graecus 2228, 14th century, *Rheinisches Museum,* n.s. LXIII (1908)] p. 144 GREGORY OF CORINTH on HERMOGENES B 445–47 Rabe (Even Euripides' "Zeus, as has been said" is a reference, "out of truth"

[4] Restorations are supplied by Hunt, only line 17 by Körte. In line 15 the papyrus preserves ωχ or ωλ.

[5] B 27 (see below) apparently originates from this dialogue.

[6] Restorations by Hunt, only lines 25 ("not," οὔτοι), 26, and 30 by Körte.

[7] Possibly both Shakespeare's "All the world's a stage" and Caesar's "Veni, vidi, vici" owe something to the Democritean (or Democratean) "The universe is a stage-setting, life an entry upon stage: you came, you saw, you departed."

a confirmation): This verse has been found in two plays of Euripides, both in the so-called *Pirithus* and in *Wise Melanippe*. It is not untimely to expose both their arguments and their locales to those who welcome erudition. The argument of the *Pirithus* is as follows: Pirithus, having descended into Hades along with Theseus in order to court Persephone, gained appropriate punishment. Shackled to an immovable seat of rock, he himself was guarded by a serpent's yawns, while Theseus, thinking it disgraceful to abandon his friend, preferred existence in Hades to life. When, however, Heracles was dispatched against Cerberus by Eurystheus, he prevailed over the beast by force and, through the favor of earthly deities, rescued Theseus' entourage from the constraint which held them at the time. In a single action he subdued his opponent both because he had gained a favor from the gods and because he had taken pity on friends suffering misfortune. In this play Aeacus is introduced, addressing himself to Heracles:

Ha! what is this? I espy someone proceeding this way in haste and with a very bold attitude. Stranger, it is right that you tell me who you are who approach these sites and [that you tell me] for what reason [you have come].

Then Heracles [replied] to him [*TGF* p. 547; Euripides fr. 591]:

No squeamishness [restrains me] from revealing the whole story. My homeland is Argos; Heracles is my name. I am descended from Zeus, father of all the gods. Zeus came to my mother's noble bed, as has been truthfully stated. I have arrived here by compulsion, in deference to the sovereignty of Eurystheus, who sent me with orders to lead Hades' hound alive to the Mycenaean gates. [He gave the order] not because he wished to see [the beast]; rather, he thought that he had contrived thereby a task impossible of fulfillment. Tracking down such employment, I have traveled around Europe in a circle and have come to the remotest parts of all Asia.

17. [Euripides fr. 592 Nauck] Athenaeus xi 496a An earthen vessel . . . they use (the apparatus) at Eleusis on the last day of the mysteries, which they name "Plemochoae" after it. . . . Of the same matters also the author of the *Pirithus* reminds us, whether he be Critias the tyrant or Euripides, as he says the following:

That we [the Chorus] may void these earthen vessels into a cleft in the ground in reverent silence.

18. [EURIPIDES fr. 594 Nauck] CLEMENT *Miscellanies* V 35 [II 349, 18 Stählin] Concerning these matters, what is recorded on the holy ark reveals aspects of the intelligible universe, though it has been hidden away and shut off from the multitude. Indeed, even those golden ornaments, six-winged, each of them, whether they show the two bears, as some wish, or, preferably, the two hemispheres, still the name "Cherubim" is likely to indicate considerable knowledge. But the two together have twelve wings and show the perceptible universe through the circle of the zodiac and the time sequence connected with it. Discoursing on nature, I think, the tragedy says "untiring . . . celestial vault." SCHOLIUM on ARISTOPHANES *Birds* 179 The ancients employ the word "pole" not, as do the moderns, as a defining term for "axle," but as that which embraces all. Euripides in his *Pirithus* writes "and guarding Atlas' celestial vault," as if it circled around and everything passed through it.

Untiring time wanders around the everflowing stream. In its fullness it keeps reproducing itself, and twin bears borne on swift-flappings of wings keep watch over Atlas' celestial vault.

Atlas can be the unaffected celestial vault and the unstraying sphere, but is better understood, perhaps, as immovable time.

19. [EURIPIDES fr. 593 Nauck] CLEMENT *Miscellanies* V 115 [II 403, 14 Stählin] In his play *Pirithus*, the same author [Euripides] also writes the following tragic verse: "You . . . dance about." [SCHOLIA on APOLLONIUS RHODIUS IV 143 and on EURIPIDES *Orestes* 982 quote lines 1–2; SATYRUS *Life of Euripides* (*POxy* IX) p. 140, cites 1–4, "who . . . of the s(tars)"]:

[I call on] you, self-begotten, who interwove all things in a heavenly whir, around whom light, around whom spangled murky night and the numberless horde of stars continually dance about.

Here he has called "self-begotten" the creative mind. The sequel has to do with the universe, including even the oppositions of light and darkness.

20. [EURIPIDES fr. 595 Nauck] PLUTARCH *On Friendships* 7 p. 96C Some, though they derived no benefits from friends whose fortunes were good, join them in ruin when they meet mischance. And especially philosophers and men of taste suffer thus, as Theseus along with Pirithus, when the latter was punished and tied up:

[Theseus] has been yoked [to Pirithus] in shackles of awe not forged by any smith.

21. [EURIPIDES fr. 598 Nauck] STOBAEUS II 8, 4 In Euripides' *Pirithus:*

Not with unpracticed mind did the first speaker make his contribution, he who originated the statement that chance becomes ally to men of understanding.

22. [EURIPIDES fr. 597 Nauck] STOBAEUS III 37, 15 In the *Pirithus:*

An honest manner is more steadfast than a law. No orator could ever distort the one; but, stirring the other up and down with speeches, he frequently does dishonor.

23. [EURIPIDES fr. 596 Nauck] STOBAEUS IV 53, 23 In Euripides' *Pirithus:*

Is it not true that it is better not to live than to live ill?

24. From the *Pirithus*, according to Welcker, come the following fragments of Euripides, fr. inc. 865D:

Fame points out the good man even in the far corners of the earth.

and 936,

No, but while I was still living Hades received me.

and, according to Wilamowitz, fr. 964 also.[8] Cf. PHOTIUS *Lexicon* p. 91, 18 Reitzenstein: "Motherless (*amētoros*)": Euripides:

O Aphidnus, scion of motherless Earth!

SISYPHUS (SATYR-PLAY)

25. [EURIPIDES (I p. 770 Nauck)] SEXTUS *Against the Schoolmasters* IX 54 And Critias, one of those who held tyrannical power at Athens, appears to come from the rank[s] of the atheists, since he says that ancient lawgivers fabricated the deity as an overseer of men's successes and failures in the interest of no man's secretly injuring his neighbor, guarding against retribution on the part of the gods. So goes the statement in his writings: "There was . . . race." AETIUS I 7, 2 (*D* 298) And Euripides, the tragic poet, out of fear of the [Council of the] Areopagus, was unwilling to lay the truth bare, yet gave indications in the following manner. For he introduced Sisyphus as the champion of this opinion and shared in advocacy. "There was a time," he says, "when . . . subservient" [lines 1–2]. Then he avers that lawlessness was undone through the introduction of laws. For since law could restrain the obvious among injustices, whereas many men acted unjustly in secret, at that point some sage established that it was necessary to obscure the truth with false discourse and persuade mankind "that there is . . . with life, who hears and sees these things and is extremely thoughtful" [lines 17–18]. AETIUS I 6, 7 (*D* 294) Whence also Euripides says "and the starry brightness of heaven, wise . . . Time" [lines 33–34].

There was a time when the life of men was uncivilized and bestial and subservient to brute force, a time when neither was there any prize for the good nor for the wicked did any chastisement arise. It seems to me that men next set up laws as chastisers, that Justice might become tyrant ⟨equally of all⟩ and might have Arrogance as a slave. Should anyone commit an error, he was penalized. Next, since laws hindered them from committing obvious

[8] The fragment is cited in connection with Anaxagoras, *DK* 59 A 33.

crimes by force, yet they acted secretly; it seems to me that at this point some clever and wise man ⟨for the first time⟩ invented fear ⟨of the gods⟩ for mortals, that the wicked might experience fear, even if they act or say or think ⟨something⟩ in secret. As a consequence he introduced the divine: "There is a deity flourishing with indestructible life. Through mind it hears, sees, is extremely thoughtful, and attends to these things, bearing divine nature [in itself]. It will hear all that is said among mortals and will be able to see all that is done. If in silence you plan some evil, this will not escape the notice of the gods. For thought is in it ⟨to too great a degree⟩." Making these statements, he introduced the most pleasant of doctrines and with false discourse obscured the truth. He claimed that the god inhabited a place where, merely by mentioning it, he could have frightened men extremely. He recognized that from this source there were fears for mortals and benefits for their wretched way of life, coming from heavenly revolution, where he saw that there existed lightning flashes and frightful thunderclaps and the star-spangled frame of heaven, the lovely embroidery of Time, wise craftsman. From here the bright mass of the star proceeds and damp storm moves out toward earth. With such fears did he encircle men, through whom he settled the deity well via discourse and in a suitable location; and through laws he quelled lawlessness.

And, going a bit further, the poet adds:

And I think that it was in this way that someone first persuaded mortals to think that there existed a race of deities.

FROM UNDETERMINED DRAMAS

26. Stobaeus I 8, 11:

After the shadow time grows old very quickly.

27. ——— III 14, 2 Of Critias:[9]

[One must be able to oppose even friends.] Whoever in dealing with friends does everything in order to gain favor causes immediate pleasure to turn into enmity for a later time.

[9] Cf. B 15a above.

28. ——— III 23, 1 Of Critias:

But it is frightening when someone who lacks understanding believes that he understands.

29. ——— IV 33, 10 Of Critias:

Is it better to have wealthy gaucherie as an inmate in the home rather than wise poverty?

PROSE FRAGMENTS

⟨COMMONWEALTH OF THE ATHENIANS⟩

30. Possibly B 53–73 belong here.

COMMONWEALTH OF THE THESSALIANS

31. ATHENAEUS XIV 662F "It is admitted that the Thessalians have become the most extravagant of the Greeks, so far as dress and mode of life are concerned. This turned out to be the reason for their bringing in the Persians against Greece, for the latter envied them their extravagance and luxury." Critias makes observations concerning the Thessalians' extravagance in his *Commonwealth of the Thessalians.*

COMMONWEALTH OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS

32. CLEMENT *Miscellanies* VI 9 [II 428, 12 Stählin] Aware that Euripides wrote, "Offspring are superior if from a mother and father who labor to provide an austere mode of life" [fr. 525, 4–5] Critias writes: "I start, you see, from a man's hour of birth. How might he become physically supreme and strongest? [He could,] if his sire would exercise and eat manfully and harden himself physically and if the mother of the child-to-be would grow physically strong and exercise."

33. Athenaeus xi 463e From city to city there are peculiar fashions of drinking, as Critias shows in his *Commonwealth of the Lacedaemonians* through these words: "The Chian and the Thessalian drink out of large cups passed to the right, the Athenian out of small cups passed to the right, while the Thessalian proposes grandiose toasts to whomever they [*sic*] wish. But the Lacedaemonians drink, each, the cup placed at his side, and the wine-pourer ⟨pours in⟩ just so much as one [is likely to] drink."

34. ———483b Critias in his *Commonwealth of the Lacedaemonians* writes thus: "Apart from these things the most modest for daily living: Laconian shoes are best ⟨and⟩ Laconian cloaks are most pleasing to wear and. most useful. The Laconian beaker is the most suitable drinking vessel for military activity and easiest to carry in a knapsack. On what account it is fit for soldiers ⟨I shall explain⟩. It often becomes necessary ⟨for a soldier⟩ to drink impure water. Thus the first consideration is the liquid's not being very clear. Next the beaker, having rims which curve inward, causes the impurity to keep to itself." Plutarch *Lycurgus* 9, 7 On that account, the handy and necessary among utensils—couches, stools, tables—were best crafted in their midst. And the Laconian beaker was especially popular for military campaigns, as Critias states. For water which had to be drunk, though unpleasant to the sight, became obscure in color. Since mud rubbed against the interior and clung to the incurving rims, what was swallowed down approached the mouth in a purer condition. Pollux vi 97 The beaker is a Laconian [s.c., drinking cup]. And the beaker's sides, like those also of the pot, are called "rims (*ambōnes*)." Cf. Photius *Lexicon* s.v. "beaker (*kōthōn*)" [i 364, 11 Naber].

35. Athenaeus xi 486e Critias in his *Commonwealth of the Lacedaemonians:* "Milesian-made bed and Milesian-made stool, Chian-made bed and Rheneian-made table." Harpocration s.v. "Lycian-made (*Lukiourgeis*)" [following a quotation from Didymus]: The grammarian seems not to know that one would derive such a formation, not from names of persons, but rather from names of cities and peoples.

Critias says "Milesian-made bed" in his *Commonwealth of the Lacedaemonians*.

36. EUSTATHIUS on HOMER *Odyssey* VIII 376 1601, 25 [from SUETONIUS *On Games*?] And it was an old custom to play thus and, they say, the Lacedaemonians had a local contest, the "ball-match". . . . note that such a game played with a ball was also a kind of dance, as he makes clear likewise who wrote thus: "The tong-dance involves vehement leg movements." In any event, Critias says the following: "Leaping up to a high point before dropping down to earth, they executed many alternations with their feet. They called it 'doing the tong-dance'." Cf. ATHENAEUS XIV 629D.

37. LIBANIUS *Orations* 25, 63 [II 567 Förster] The Lacedaemonians [are] those who keep open to themselves the license of slaughter against the Helots and concerning whom Critias speaks [when he notes that] in Lacedaemon especially there are slaves and freemen. What else is there than what Critias himself says? "On account of mistrust toward these Helots the Spartan at home strips off the sling from the Helot's shield. Since he cannot do this on campaign because of the frequent necessity for speed, he always travels around with spear in hand in order to prove stronger in this particular than the Helot, should the latter, relying on his shield alone, essay an uprising. They have devised bolts as well, which they deem stronger than any treachery coming from the Helots." (64) This would be the situation of men living with fear and not allowed a respite by those who are terrible in their expectations. Thus, when they breakfast and go to sleep and proceed about any other business, fear of their householders arms them. How could they, O son of Callaeschrus, derive enjoyment from a freedom which is pure, if slaves attacked them in alliance with Poseidon and were furnished as an example that on similar occasions they would act similarly? Just as their kings, therefore, were not very free, inasmuch as it was granted the ephors to shackle a king and put him to death, so all the Spartans together were stripped of freedom, living as they did with the hatred coming from their householders.

FROM AN UNDETERMINED *COMMONWEALTH*

38. POLLUX VII 59 They call trousers also "breeches (*skeleai*)." The name occurs also in Critias' writings, specifically in his *Commonwealths*.

APHORISMS (BOOKS I, II, ETC.)

39. GALEN *Commentary on Hippocrates' "The Doctor's Workshop"* I 1 (What it is to perceive with sight, touch, hearing, smell, taste, and thought) XVIII B 654 Kühn Such is the Stoic explanation [namely, of perception] as that which is indicated. On that account Quintus' disciple Aephician accepted Stoic philosophy itself and welcomed it. . . . 655, 7 He says that Hippocrates availed himself of the expression "perceiving," as opposed to "thought." 656, 2 And he recalls, in discussing the term "thought," that in the time of the ancients it was on a par with "mind" or "intelligence," unless "consideration" too was mentioned. Though there are many testimonia to it, I shall cite as evidence only a few.

Critias in Book I of his *Aphorisms* writes as follows: "Neither what one perceives through the rest of one's body nor what one knows through thought."

And again: "Men come to know if they are accustomed to be healthy in their thought."

LECTURES (BOOKS I–II)

40. ——— ——— [directly after the last passage cited above] Also in Book I of the *Lectures:* "But if you yourself were to become practiced in order to be competent for thought, you would thus be least wronged by them."[10] And often in the same book and in Book II of the *Lectures*,

[10] Kathleen Freeman, like Diels before her, conjecturally identifies the unspecified agent as "the sense-perceptions," *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers: A Complete Translation of the Fragments in Diels' "Fragmente der Vorsokratiker"* (Oxford, 1948), p. 160. Cf. Diels's "*Sinneswahrnehmungen.*"

in making a logical distinction between thought and perceptions he has spoken much as did Antiphon. . . . [*DK* 87 B 1 = Morrison B 67]

41. Herodian *On Anomalous Words* p. 40, 14 The substitution in Critias' *Lectures* of "impulsitude" for "impulse" is incorrect.

41a. Plato *Charmides* 161B I just remembered having heard someone say already, that moderation would be attending to one's own affairs. Cf. 162A.

ON THE NATURE OF DESIRE OR OF VIRTUES

42. Galen *Glossary of Hippocratic Terminology* XIX 94 Kühn (*On Epidemics* III 17, 11 [III 134 Littré] a woman named Dysenius) s.v. "*dysaniēs*": Critias in his *On the Nature of Desire or of Virtues* explains the noun thus: "An 'ill-pleased' (*dysanios*) person is one who becomes distressed over small and large matters to a greater degree or for a longer time than other men." Cf. 87 B 176.

PROEMS SUITABLE FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

43. Hermogenes *On Kinds* [*of Literary Composition*] B 401, 25 Rabe Cf. A 19 above.

FROM UNDETERMINED PROSE WORKS

44. Aelian *Miscellaneous History* X 13 Critias censures Archilochus for having spoken very ill of himself: "If he had not publicized such an opinion of himself among the Greeks, we should have found out neither that he was the son of Enipo, the slave-woman, nor that, having abandoned Paros due to poverty and need, he came to Thasos, nor that upon his arrival he became an enemy to the residents, nor even that

he reviled friends and foes alike. In addition, we should not have known either that he was an adulterer, unless by learning it from him, or that he was lecherous and wanton and—what is most disgraceful even among these things—that he threw away his shield. Thus, in leaving behind such a reputation and such renown for himself, Archilochus was not a good witness in his own behalf." Not I, but Critias laid these criticisms upon Archilochus.

45. ——— ——— x 17 Critias states that Themistocles, son of Neocles, before he inaugurated political activity, had as his inheritance three talents. But when be became leader of the democracy, then fled and suffered confiscation of his goods, it was discovered that he possessed property worth more than one hundred talents. Similarly, Cleon, before his entry into public affairs, was not encumbered with possessions, but left an estate of fifty talents afterward.

46. Aristides *Art of Rhetoric* ii 15 Schmid [on Xenophon *Symposium* ad init.: "But it seems to me"] Had his discourse started from a declarative expression, such as "It seems to me, at least," his utterance would have become stronger and would have seemed to be rather like that of Critias than of any such persons.

47. ——— ——— ii 50 Schmid [on Xenophon *Symposium* i 4: "Rather to them, as if to generals and cavalry-commanders and office seekers"] But if, incorporating the contrary, you said something such as "All who choose such men, whom they observe excelling in offices and honors and such powers more than the rest, do not seem to me to be doing correctly," such a manner would have seemed to be rather that of Critias than of any of the ancient sophists.

48. Dio Chrysostom 21, 3 [ii 267 Arnim] Or do you not know that Critias, the member of the Thirty, said the following: "Among males the feminine form is most beautiful, among females the opposite"? Therefore, the Athenians justly chose him as a legal expert for the revision of old laws, since he left not one of them [alone]. Cf. A 4.

49. [Dionysius] *Art of Rhetoric* [3d century, A.D.] 6 II 277, 10 Usener-Radermacher For a man who comes into the world, according to Callaeschrus' son, one of the Thirty, "Nothing is secure, save dying for him who comes into the world and the impossibility of a living man's making his way outside the range of disaster. . . ."

50. Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* p. 1, 9 For I am indeed aware that Critias the sophist also did not make mention of paternity, but allowed an exception in the case of Homer, since he was intending to disclose the marvel of Homer's having as his father a river.

51. Planudes on Hermogenes *Rh. Gr.* V 484 Walz Like "the contest of the Pythians." This is common and easy; but Critias, employing an inverted word order, said: "Of the Pythians the contest."

52. Plutarch *Cimon* 16 Critias says that, whereas Ephialtes hindered and protested against aiding and raising up a city to rival Athens, but [advised] allowing the pride of Sparta to lie low and be trampled under, Cimon, having placed the aggrandizement of his homeland after the advantage of the Spartans and having convinced the populace, went forth to the rescue with numerous heavily armed troops.

53. Pollux II 58 Critias and Antiphon [*DK* 87 B 6 = Morrison B 74] [employ the expression] "look into (*diopteuein*)."

54. ——— II 122 In the works of Critias, a rhetorician is also a "speaker (*logeus*)."

55. ——— II 148 "Nimble (*tachycheir*)," as Critias [says].

56. ——— III 116 And, as Critias [says], "sordidness (*rhyparia*)."

57. ——— IV 64 Critias is satisfied to call lyre-accompanied odes "songs sung to instrumental music (*prosōidiai*)."

58. ——— IV 165 In the works of Critias [there occurs the expression] "priced at two drachmas (*didrachmiaioi*)."

59. ——— VI 31 Critias explains "beakerize further (*epikōthōnidzesthai*)" as "go on drinking (*peraiterō pinein*)."

60. ——— VI 38 Critias said both "catering (*opsōniai*)" and "purchase victuals (*opsōnein*)," but identified the latter also as "be a cook (*opsonomein*)."

61. ——— VI 152–53 "False witnesses (*pseudomartyres*)" have been mentioned in the works of Critias, also the "false witness (*pseudomartys*)," I know not where. The same author, I suppose, employs also the verb "bear false witness (*pseudomartyrein*)."

62. ——— VI 194 "To be scattered (*diaskedannusthai*)" . . . or "to have been spread abroad (*diapephorēsthai*)," as Critias [says].

63. ——— VI 195 Also part of themselves, all that is beside them, that which is according to them, that which comes upon them, that which is ⟨directed⟩ against them. Critias possibly says: "insofar as they are worthy."

64. ——— VII 78 Those who sell garments are called "clothes-dealers (*himatiopōlai*)," inasmuch as Critias used the name.

65. ——— VII 91 Cf. II 196. Critias calls them "socks (*podeia*)," whether one is to think of them as felt shoes or as a wrapping for feet. In his *Phrygians* [fr. 259 Nauck] Aeschylus calls them "ankle-bandages (*pellutra*)."

66. ——— VII 108 "Gem-engravers (*daktulioglyphoi*)." The word occurs in the writings of Critias.

67. ——— VII 154 "Lyre-string-dealer (*chordopōlēs*)," as Critias says.

68. ——— VII 177 "Perfumer (*myrepsos*)." For so Critias used the name.

69. ——— VII 179 "Hairnet (*kekryphaloplokos*),"[11] as Critias said.

70. ——— VII 196–97 Critias mentions most of the series, much of it chosen rather for euphony:

bronze-dealers (*chalkopōlai*)
iron-dealers (*sideropōlai*)
vegetable-dealers (*lachanopōlai*)

. . .

cheese-dealers (*turopōlai*)

. . .

emetic-dealers (*surmaiopōlai*)
oakum-dealers (*styppeiopōlai*)
wool-dealers (*eriopōlai*)
frankincense-dealers (*libanotopōlai*)

. . .

root-dealers (*rhidzopōlai*)
silphium-dealers (*silphiopōlai*)
cabbage-dealers (*kaulopōlai*)
equipment-dealers (*skeuopōlai*)
scrap-pickers (*spermologoi*)
seed-dealers (*spermatopōlai*)
pot-dealers (*chytropōlai*)

. . .

drug-dealers (*pharmakopōlai*)

. . .

needle-dealers (*belonopōlai*)

. . .

plucked-bird-on-a-board dealers (*pinakopōlai*)

Critias calls them "bird-retailers (*ornithokapēloi*)" and so on.

[11] Kathleen Freeman, however, interprets the term as "hairnet-maker" (wrongly?), *Ancilla*, p. 161.

71. ——— VIII 25 Critias explained "acquit (*apodikasai*)" as dissolving the trial or denying it a victory, just as we would say "refuse to condemn (*apopsēphisasthai*)." The same [authority understood] "hold inquiry (*diadikadzein*)" [to signify] giving judgment throughout the year.

72. ——— IX 17 Also in the writings of Critias, "one who lives always in the city (*astutrips*)" [is considered] a "city-protector (*astunomos*)."

73. ——— IX 161 Both in the writings of Euripides [fr. 1100] and in the writings of Critias, "scholarship (*eupaideusia*)" is called "shrewdness (*euxunesia*)."

SPURIOUS OR DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS

74. [The sayings in Ryssel's Graeco-Syrian collection (*Rheinisches Museum,* LI [1896], p. 531ff., n. 4, 11, 15) are uncertain as to form of the name and in their content have nothing to do with the sophists.]

75. PLATO *Republic* II 368A Not badly, O sons of that man, did Glaucon's lover[12] direct the start of his elegies toward you, since you had gained renown in connection with the battle at Megara. He said:

Sons of Ariston, divine progeny of a famous man.

[12] Schleiermacher surmises that the reference is to Critias.